DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 126 677 FL 007 375

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TITLE Haida Pronouns - Hydaburg Dialect. Lektos: Interdisciplinary Working Papers in Language Sciences, Special Issue.
INSTITUTION Louisville Univ., Ky. Interdisciplinary Program in Linguistics.
PUB DATE Aug 75
NOTE 18p.; Paper presented at the International Conference on Salishan Languages (10th, August 14-16, 1975)
AVAILABLE FROM University of Louisville, Interdisciplinary Program in Linguistics, Room 214 Humanities, Louisville, Kentucky 40208

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$1.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS American Indian Languages; Descriptive Linguistics; *Diachronic Linguistics; *Dialect Studies; *Eskimo Aleut Languages; Grammar; Language Research; *Language Variation; Morphology (Languages); *Pronouns; Regional Dialects; Salish; Structural Analysis; Syntax; Uncommonly Taught Languages
IDENTIFIERS *Haida

ABSTRACT

Haida as spoken by residents of Hydaburg today seems to differ from the Masset dialect reported by Swanton (1911:209). This paper attempts to describe the pronoun system of Haida now in use in Hydaburg and to make a preliminary analysis of the changes which appear to have occurred since the accounts of Swanton and Harrison (1895). The following pronoun types are discussed: active and inactive, possessive, emphatic, declarative and demonstrative or deictic. Some recent changes seem to appear. For example, both Harrison (1895:158) and Swanton (1911:256) note the presence of a third plural pronoun, but none has been noted in present-day Haida. It is concluded that there are recognizable similarities between the Harrison grammar of Masset and current Hydaburg speech, and that this is true to a lesser extent with Swanton's Masset grammar. This suggests that while there is an unmistakably close relationship between Masset Dialect (ca. 1900) and Hydaburg Dialect, there may have been independent development. In addition, there appears to have been a shortening or contraction of forms in some pronoun series. However, dialectal differences are considered impossible to demonstrate without recent data from Masset. (Author/AM)

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Haida Pronouns - Hydaburg Dialect

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Introduction

Since Swanton published a linguistic account of the Haida language spoken on the Queen Charlotte Islands of British Columbia, three dialects have been generally acknowledged. These are the Masset, Skidegate and Ninstints dialects. There is no published account of Ninstints which has no known living speakers. The other two dialects are primarily spoken in the towns for which the dialects were named, both of which are on Graham Island. According to Swanton (1911:209), the Haida who live in Alaska on Prince of Wales Island speak Masset dialect.

Swanton points out that a large number of Haidas moved from the northwestern Queen Charlotte Islands to Alaska around 1700-1760. At the time he was studying the Haida, these Alaskan Haida, sometimes referred to as Kaigani, were living in three villages. About 1911 the Christian community of Hydaburg was formed when the residents of Howkan, Klinkwan and Kasaan were brought together.

Haida as spoken by residents of Hydaburg appears to differ from the Masset dialect reported by Swanton. It is difficult to determine at this time whether such changes are currently reflected in Masset speech or whether differences are part of a larger dialectal drift which has occurred within the last century. Despite Swanton's claims, it remains to be seen whether Kaigani speech was

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identical with Masset even at the turn of this century.

This paper[1] is an attempt to describe the pronoun system of Haida now in use in Hydaburg and to make a preliminary analysis of the changes which seem to have occurred since the accounts of Swanton and Harrison (1895). References to Haida will be to Hydaburg dialect unless otherwise specified.

Pronoun Types

Pronouns occur in three syntactic relationships within the Haida sentence, as subjects of predication, as objects of predication, and to denote possession. These correspond to Harrison's three relations of nominative, accusative and genitive, which are clearly modeled on Latin grammar (1895:131 ff., 135). However, Haida pronouns are not used in precisely the Indo-European sense of nominative and accusative as Harrison's grammar suggests. Broadly characterized, there are two classes of pronouns used as subjects of predication. I refer to these as active and inactive.

Generally, inactive pronouns are used with predicates denoting states of being, quality or condition. Active pronouns are used with verbs of motion or activity as well as many transitive verbs. There may be a small class of neutral verbs which also take active pronouns (cf. Eastman, Welsch and Vaughan 1975).

Verbs which are transitive in English may take either class of pronoun subject depending upon what the predication denotes, action or condition. Thus, "I am eating fish" and "I am going out" will take active pronouns, but "I am fat" and "I love my wife" (i.e., "I am in the state of loving my wife") will take inactive

pronouns.

The distinction between active and inactive pronouns corresponds closely, but not identically, to what Swanton (1911:256) has called subjective and objective series of pronouns.

> The subjective series is used as subject of the transitive verb and of active verbs, even when there is no object expressed. Objective pronouns are used to express the subject of verbs expressing states and qualities.

Table 1 lists the forms of the two series of Masset pronouns given by Swanton. Table 2 lists Harrison's three nominative pronoun forms. Harrison suggests that Series A and B may be used interchangeably.

The single emphatic form of Swanton's subjective series (2nd sing.) is reflected throughout the active series of pronouns in Hydaburg. These contrast with a full set of non-emphatic active forms, and both sets appear to be derivationally related. I have referred to them as declarative and emphatic. Choice of an emphatic or declarative pronoun seems to be conditioned solely by the focus of the sentence. Focus is also reflected in the word order when objects are expressed. There are the following contrasting word orders for active verbs with pronoun subjects:

(obj.) + declar. pronoun subj. + pred. stem + tense/aspect suff.

emph. pronoun subj. + (obj.) + pred. stem + tense/aspect suffixes

Focus falls in both cases upon the first element of the sentence.

Table 1. Masset Pronoun Series, After Swanton (1911:256).

	Subjective	Objective
1st singular	ɬ	di
2nd singular	dAñ	dAñ
emphatic	da	
3rd singular	la	la
1st plural	tɬalA'ñ	iLɬ
2nd plural	dalA'ñ	dalA'ñ
3rd plural	Lɬ	Lɬ

Table 2. Masset Nominative Pronouns, After Harrison (1895:158, 170).

	Series A	Series B	Series C
I	Tlaou	Lth	Di
Thou	Dahou	Dung	Dung
He	Laou	Il	Il
We	Talung	Ītil	Ītil
Ye	Dalung	Dalung	Dalung
They	Ltha	Ltha	Ltha

An arrangement of Haida pronouns from our data appears in Table 3. There are, in addition, several demonstrative or deictic pronouns which will be discussed later in this paper.

With the exception of the 1st singular possessive giagən, it appears that all the possessives, objects and inactive pronouns may be derivationally related. Indeed, with the exception of the 1st person forms, all of the pronoun series seem derivationally related.

1st Singular (Active Series)

(1)	cín aɬ tágəŋ	I am eating fish.
		cin (fish) ta (to eat)
(2)	ɬáo cín tágəŋ	I am eating fish.
		ɬao (emphatic pronoun)
(3)	ɬáo gutágəŋ	I am eating.
		gu (intransitivizing particle)
(4)	aɬ gutágəŋ	I am eating.

Neutral verbs taking gu do not always take emphatic pronouns, though there is a tendency to do so (cf. Eastman, Welsch and Vaughan 1975). There is reason to interpret gu as an indefinite pronoun but it appears an object or as a relative pronoun (cf. Edwards 1975).

aɬ frequently contracts to ɬ and usually merges with the prior syllable. In such instances the pronoun is never stressed though the preceding syllable may receive stress on its own accord. This merging does not appear to be distinctive as (1) above may occur as:

(5) cínɬ tágəŋ I am eating fish.

There are two stresses in (5) and three in (1). These seem to be in free variation and determined by speaking speed. The contraction

Table 3. Haida Personal Pronouns.

	Active		Inactive	Objects	Possessives	
	declarative	emphatic			Series 1	Series 2
1st Singular	aɬ	ɬao	di	di	dina di	giagən
2nd Singular	dUŋ	da(o)	dUŋ(k)	dUŋ	da	dUŋgia
1st Plural	t?alUŋ t? l kʷUŋ	kʷUŋwu	ik		ik	ikia
2nd Plural	λUn	λUnu	λUn			λiŋgia
3rd Person	hUl	lao	hUl	la	la	lagia

may occur with preceding vowels as well.

(6) dalaɬ daʔaŋ — I have money.

dala (money)

There are also examples in which the declarative pronoun ɬ may be seen to have merged with the subsequent syllable.

(7) ɬqaidUŋsan — I will go.

qait (to go)

Harrison (1895:135) mentions a pronoun ou which he glosses as "it." Since he gives no examples of its use, it is difficult to understand precisely its grammatical significance. There is a particle with the same phonological shape in Hydaburg speech which frequently follows nouns and pronouns.

(8) cín u dún tágən — You ate the fish.

It is uncertain at this time how to gloss the particle, though it seems to indicate an added emphasis. Probably a gloss of "is the one" or "is what" is most appropraite, though it is usually not necessary to translate it.

As I have noted the underlying form of the 1st singular declarative pronoun aɬ is frequently realized as ɬ. In cases where the particle u precedes aɬ, contraction occurs, the pronoun retaining its stress. Thus:

cín u aɬ tágəŋ ⟶ cín uɬ tágəŋ

1st Singular (Inactive Series)

(9) di qaskit lagəŋ — I am pretty.

(10) di lamgatəŋ — I am drunk.

lamga (to be drunk)

(11) di cʔiagəŋ — I am slim.

(12) lam nEl di gulagəŋ — I like to drink whiskey.

lam (whiskey) nEl (to drink)

In (10) and (11) there is a simple attribution involved. Verbs which take di may, however, take objects but the sentence must denote a condition, state of being or quality. In such cases, word order is identical with that of declarative-active sentences.

(13) tan di ɬʔhUgəŋ — I'm afraid of bears.

tan (bears) ɬʔhU (to be afraid)

3rd Person

Gender is not marked in Haida pronouns. In addition there seems to be no distinction between singular and plural personal pronouns in the 3rd person; plurality is marked by an aspectual suffix of the verb (cf. Eastman, Welsch and Vaughan 1975). Harrison (1895:158) notes the use of the 3rd singular pronoun for 3rd plural "if only a few persons, places or articles are referred to." Both Harrison (1895:158) and Swanton (1911:256) note the presence of a 3rd plural pronoun, distinct from 3rd singular, but I have recorded no instances of a 3rd plural form.

Emphatic - Active Pronouns

The following are examples of the emphatic pronouns:

(14) ɬao hialgəŋ — I am dancing.

(15) dao hialUŋksan — You (sing.) are going to dance.

(16) da guta — You eat. Are you eating?

(17) ɬao hialUŋksan — He is going to dance.

(18) ɬUŋwu hialUŋsan — We are going to dance.

(19) λUn waλuwan u k?əjaUnsan You are all going to sing.
λUn (2nd pl.) waλuwan (all)

(20) lao hialƛwansan They are going to dance.

It is possible that the emphatic pronouns are morphologically complex. They may contain an underlying emphatic pronoun form plus an emphatic particle u. Thus we would find:

ɬa + u → ɬao

da + u → dao

la + u → lao

ƛun + u → ƛunwu

This interpretation is supported by (16) above where the emphatic form is da rather than dao.

Neutral verbs (e.g., guta "to be eating") as well as intransitive active may take either form of the active pronoun subject. This is especially true of the 3rd person.

(21) lao gutagəŋ He is eating
lao (emphatic pronoun)

(22) hUl gutagəŋ He is eating.
hUl (declarative pronoun)

(21) above seems to carry with it greater emphasis on the pronoun subject as the focus of the sentence.

Focus is better understood with another example.

(1) cin aɬ tagəŋ I am eating fish.
aɬ (declarative pronoun)

(2) ɬao cin tagəŋ I am eating fish.
ɬao (emphatic pronoun)

Typically (2) is the response to a question like "What are you doing?" (1) is a better response to "What are you eating?" In fact, Haida speakers often gloss (1) as "Fish, I am eating." Another example of this is:

(23) ɬq?iŋgən gwa — I am looking at it.

q?iŋ (to look)

This verb usually takes an object but in this case the object is implied by the use of the declarative pronoun.

Declarative - Active Pronouns

(24) gusu dUŋ Isdaŋ — What are you doing?

gusu (what?)

(25) cin u dUn tagəŋ — You (sing.) are eating the fish.

(26) k?iu ƛUŋ tagəŋ — We are eating clams.

k?iu (clams)

(27) kɛkgai t?alUŋ tagigən — We already ate the cake.

kɛkgai (cake)

(28) la t?əl q?iŋgən — We saw him.

(29) kɛk ɬ tagəŋ — He is eating cake.

(30) kɛk ɬ tawan — They are eating cake.

(31) cin ul tawan — They are eating the fish.

The 2nd singular dUn varies with dUn according to environment.

$$dU\eta \longrightarrow dUn \;/\; __ + C \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voiceless} \\ +\text{alveolar} \end{bmatrix}$$

The 3rd person declarative pronoun is realized in several surface shapes. These all derive from an underlying form hUl which is often heard as həl. As with the 1st singular form, contraction

is frequent, producing ʔɬ or ɬ. This form generally stands alone receiving its own stress. When the particle u is in the environment assimilation usually occurs, especially in rapid speech.

$$u + hUɬ \longrightarrow u + ʔɬ \longrightarrow uɬ$$

The 1st person plural form is somewhat of an anomaly since it takes either of two underlying forms, tʔaluŋ and ƛUŋ. tʔəɬ seems to be a contraction of tʔaluŋ. Some speakers use either of these forms of tʔaluŋ while others use only ƛUŋ.

Inactive Pronouns

1st person pronouns are the distinctive members of this class, appearently being unrelated to their active counterparts. 2nd and 3rd person pronouns are generally very similar to the active series forms.

(32)	di qaskit lagəŋ	I am pretty.
(33)	dUŋ qaskit lagəŋ	You (sing.) are pretty.
(34)	duŋk haisłasa	You (sing.) are getting fat.
(35)	ɬ hai słaŋ	He is getting fat.
(36)	ɬ hai słUŋ	They are getting fat.
(37)	iƛ hai słaŋ	We are getting fat.
(38)	hUɬ qaskit lagəŋ	She is pretty.
(39)	ƛUn qaskit lagəŋ	You (plural) are pretty.

The shape of the 2nd singular form is determined by environment.

$$dUŋk \longrightarrow dUŋ \;/\; ___ + C \begin{bmatrix} +\text{stop} \\ +\text{post-palatal} \end{bmatrix}$$

Demonstrative or Deictic Pronouns

Though my data is incomplete, Kaigani Ha'.a appears to have three demonstrative pronouns.

(40) anIs — This one.

(41) hUnIs — That one.

(42) wUnIs — That one over there.

Robert Levine (personal communication) has refered to cognate forms in Skidegate Dialect as deictic pronouns. There use in Hydaburg is similar to English demonstratives, except that there are three distances implied. When used to refer to people they may stand alone.

(43) anIs kukujaŋgəŋ — This one is smoking.

(44) hUnIs cin tagən — That one was eating fish.

(45) wUnis hialgəŋ — That one (over there) is dancing.

These three forms contrast with lao and hUl.

Used with nouns they act as deictic adjectives.

(46) anIs qidai jiŋgəŋ — This tree is tall.

(47) hUnIs qidai skəpjugəŋ — That tree is bent over.

Harrison (1895:136) notes only two forms anis and wunis and remarks that these are used only with persons. In addition to these, he lists several impersonal demonstratives, but I have not dealt with them here.

anIs, hUnIs and wUnIs are probably morphologically complex; they seem to have plural forms and be related to several adverbs.

(48) hUxdas — Those ones.

(49) hUxin — There.

(50) hUƛina — Right there.

(51) aƛdas — These ones.

(52) aƛin — Here.

(53) aƛina — Right here.

Pronoun Objects

Pronoun objects are related to the inactive series. I have no instances of 2nd plural or 1st plural forms, but this is likely an omission in the data.

(54) la di quiada — I love him.
la (him) di (I)

(55) di ƛal di quiadəŋ — My husband loves me.
di (me) ƛal di (my husband)

(56) la aɬ gusuʔəŋ — I'm talking to them.
la (them) gusu (to talk)

(57) adaɬ dUn ɬ qʔiŋsan — I'll see you tomorrow.
adaɬ (tomorrow)

Possessive Pronouns

Swanton gives the following possessive pronouns for Masset (1911:257):

(58) dī'na — my

(59) dA'ñʔa — thy

(60) lā'ña — his

(61) ī'Lɪañna — our

(62) Lɪā'ña — Their

The forms which Harrison cites as possessives are given in Table 4.

Table 4. Masset Possessives, After Harrison (1895:136).

	General	Definite	Reflexives
my	Dī	Dīna	Giang Kiagin
your	Dung	Dānga	Dungiou
his, hers	Il	Langa	Lāgiou
ours	Ītil	Ītlanga	Ītilgiou
yours	Dalung	Dalanga	Dalungiou
Theirs	Ltha	Lthanga	Lthāgiou

The two series of possessives in Table 3 seem to be reflected in Harrison's grammar by the definite and reflexives. The general Di is retained in Hydaburg, though the other forms seem to have merged with contracted definite forms. Certain questions remain regarding the choice of one series over the other and further research will be necessary for a complete analysis. Forms such as lagia, seem to be morphologically complex, and may contain a possessive particle gia.

(63) lagia nai His (their) house.

These forms always precede the nouns they possess.

In the other series there appears to be a general shortening of both Swanton's and Harrison's forms, except for dina which remains distinct from di. This latter form is used with parts of the body, kin terms, and inalienable possessions.

(64) nai dina həgəŋ My house is burning.

(65) nai da həgəŋ Your (sing.) house is burning.

(66) nai la həgəŋ — His (their) house is burning.

(67) hai iɬ stUngən — We have two dogs. (lit. Our 2 dogs)
hai (dog) stUngən (two)

To indicate possession of plural count nouns where plurality is expressed numerically, the form of (67) is very frequent.

Discussion

There are recognizable similarities between the Harrison grammar of Masset and current Hydaburg speech. To a somewhat lesser extent this is the case with Swanton's pronoun data for Masset. This suggests that while there is an unmistakably close relationship between Masset Dialect (ca. 1900) and Hydaburg Dialect as presented here, there may have been independent development.

From Swanton's analysis it would appear that an incipient emphatic series of active pronouns was represented solely by the 2nd person singular da. By contrast, Harrison, whose analysis preceded Swanton's, notes the existence of a full series of pronouns (Table 2, Series A) cognate if not identical to the emphatic series presented here. He suggests that the two are interchangeable. If focus was marked by pronouns and word order in Harrison's time it is surprizing that he fails to note it, especially since so much of his analysis is exceptionally detailed.

The 1st plural forms still pose questions for further research but suggest a temporal trend toward reduced forms (i.e. tʔəl for tʔalUŋ). The 2nd plural form is now reduced to ɬUn from dalung There seems to be a complete shift away from distinctive 3rd person plural forms, in favor of a 3rd person pronoun whose number is

aspectually marked.

There has been a general streamlining of forms in the possessive series.

Danga ⟶ da (your sing.)

laña ⟶ la (his)

The absense of a 2nd plural possessive noted by Swanton seems to persist.

We may conclude that dialectal differences cannot be demonstrated without recent data from Masset. But there have been significant developments in the various pronoun series since the researches of Harrison and Swanton.

Note

I wish to acknowledge the much appreciated assistance of Bertha George of Seattle. Materials collected by Carol M. Eastman and Paul K. Aoki in 1972 have also been used in the analysis. Advice and criticism has also been received from J. Daniel Vaughan, Carol M. Eastman, and Elizabeth Edwards.

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